/365 cont./

973 Karaiben, one would suppose that the Bakaïrí word would have agreed with the Aruak word.

out of the question, because the two names always go together, both as moon and sun among the Nu-Aruak, as well as in the Bakaïrí legend in which the two heroes are twins. Except that kéri is moon, and kámę, kámu, sun, whereas in the Bakaïrí legend Keri is the chief person, Kame usually plays the "fool," and Keri is allotted the sun, Kame the moon. Finally, kamu, sun, seems to be contained in Kamuschini, the oldest person in the legend. It is an important circumstance that tradition is [542] transmitted preferably by the women. Antonio had all the myths from his mother and he told me that this was the rule. In that case a constant differentiation must necessarily be assumed: many alien women were taken into the Bakaïrí tribe in the course of time. In legend Keri appears as the culture hero of the Bakaïrí, Kame as the one of the Arinos tribes. Old Caetano also designated the two simply with the Bakaïrí words for sun and moon in the form of proper names: Tschischi and Nuna. It was amusing enough when he said in Bakaïrí: "Keri took tschischi," and in Portuguese: "Tschischi tomou o sol."

With the two brothers we gradually arrive at the other end of the legend of creation, its termination in the actual ancestor legend or tribal history. After the events in heaven have come to an end, that is to say, after Keri and Kame were born and brought up and accomplished their deeds, to which are owed the possession of daylight, the interchange of heaven and earth, sleep, fire, the rivers, they come to the Paranatinga, move to the old seat of the Bakaïrí at the salto /waterfall/, make various tribes out of arrows, teach festival dances, procure tobacco, mandioca, and the like, and finally depart, never to return. 973 Where in this is the end of pure legend and the beginning of 973 history, from which some actual facts are supposed to have been preserved in the accounts concerning the rivers, concerning the relationship to other tribes, and concerning the origin of cultivated

/365 cont./

193 plants? Indeed, the Kayabí /Cayabi/ appear when it is still
193 night on earth, before the sun has been fetched by Keri!

I should be happy if I could answer the question even somewhat satisfactorily. Antonio was able to enumerate for me the names of his ancestors up to his great-great-great-grandfather Mariukura who was supposed to have lived near the salto of the Paranatinga; this, if one figures 30 years per generation, would go back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Assuming the reliability of the statement, we would have what would probably be the natural limit in the case of a tribe without writing and without any particular carriers of tradition, an oral tradition that extends personally to the grandfather and, since the latter likewise /366/ could have been instructed by his grandfather, to the grandfather of the grandfather. If, mindful of the various life spans, we allow two more generations, we shall probably have reached the limit of credibility. None of our Indians doubts that with these ancestors we arrive at the time when Keri and Kame fetched the sun. To be sure, there were Bakairí before that and Kayabí were also already present before the sky and earth were interchanged. Since I am inclined to think the best of the good Bakairí, I believe after all that we shall be completely fair to them if we have them living on the Paranatinga since time immemorial and have them learn there about manioca and tobacco.

Now are Keri and Kame the names of two specific chiefs who really lived several centuries ago and who are now exaggeratedly credited with having regulated the course of the sun and providing the Bakairí and their neighbors with sleep, fire, rivers, etc.? The history of our hunter tribes living for centuries as extended families is not very well suited for creating personalities whose names could not be forgotten. But aside from this, if only the one name "moon" existed, one might still be able to imagine a real ancestor with this name, but it is asking too much for us to assume two with the names "sun" and "moon."

/386 cont./

977 Could we not regard Gut and Gunit as personifications of the
103 sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun or further hills, but were merely called that. The celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Behalf bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together. The father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be unnamed, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted. It is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

101 In the first place one should consider whether the names do
104 not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves: The *patem* tribes of the Kalimelu are, in our language, the southernmost outposts of the Nu'-kmuk. The huge main body lives to the west of the Atlimo, the tributary of the Tsepsim. There we have first of all, in the source region of the Atlimo and Inwanta, the *Paremd* group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have drifted southwards. Further to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Nu'-kmuk. The Paremd who visited us in Coyehl called the sun *kamik* and the Atlimo, as the river toward the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, *kame-chilo* = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the *Paremd* group. It could certainly have been ancestors of the /387/ Matlumai tribes, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kalimelu,* from whom the stimulus

* They are the very ones who have "sun" and "moon" in the unaltered form "*kame*" and "*ilo*," while the Paremd of Dawsonville had *kamak*, sun, but *kayil*, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old Paremd, who were split up into many subtribes.

/369 cont./

[274 273] as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon Nuna, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bekaist and their neighbors made Tachichi-Kari, the Anuak and their neighbors made Nuba-Kame, /370/ in other words Kame, the Acimon people living to the northwest with the Pawnaf, and Kari, the tribes living with the Bekaist to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions. This distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Kari's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun. Six children could not have simply called east and sun with their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two fraternal ancestors.

• [272] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way. In both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize posies. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

273 Let us consider a few important details of the legend. Kari and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband. She swallowed two finger bones from Bekaist, which the jaguar stood away at home as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the same features in many American legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpretations. Among the Pawnaf there are six brothers, among other tribes four, the number depends either on the need, how many independent family trees were necessary for the tribes who lived

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539 For three days they ran with it down toward the valley. Then they came to the salto of the Paranatinga, but it was not yet a waterfall, only dry rock. They themselves now brought the water to the salto and let it wait on the other side of the falls. But since they were now staying here, Keri soon had ducks and doves come and other birds who took the water with them and led it on.

House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived on the salto. He was the husband of the grandmother or, as we have called her up to now, Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same name as kinfolk). Tumehi was a bat and had a dark gray skin. Old Coetano variously called him Semimo (Bak. semfmo, bat) and Rei do Congo! The king of the Congo, a term which he got hold of, heaven knows how, from Negroes, fleeing slaves or workers on the fazendas, and applied to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kin-group of Kamuchini, Moro, and Ewaki, and his correct name is probably Semimo, for tumehi, tumeng, is an adjective. The salto had been his stone house before the water came; it should not be surprising to us that it is precisely the bat, which prefers to "keep house" in rock clefts, that is regarded as the builder of the stone chasm and that the latter, with one or another overhanging rock-roof, is regarded as a house. Thus, Tumehi was pedreiro, stonecutter.

Keri and Kame had Tumehi build each of them a stone house. The latter provided himself with stones by blowing on neyuiben, that is how stones were produced.

They learned more from Tumehi on the salto, however. Their knowledgeable grandfather showed them how to make and to set weirs and catch mamuchiam fish in them, how to plant roasting necks and roast fish.

Now Keri and Kame have reached the stage where they are regarded as adult human beings, they have acquired everything one needs: sun and moon, hammock and sleep, fire, the best river with the salto and its fish, house, and roasting rack. Their life had to start in heaven, and now it has been carried forward to the time when the actual tribal history begins at the oldest residence site of the Bakaïri, on the salto of the Paranatinga.

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670. on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

195 [199] [164] [159] The Bakairí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

193 [115] I made an effort to learn more details about the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the 175 131 169 361 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde coming from the left, the West Bakairí, at least since the middle of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caetão there were more than six villages, there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakairí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where [179] the Rio Beiçaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times.

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
179 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
169 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pire: that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

/391 cont./ one of the grandfathers of Caetano was slain in the forest by another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetõ on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have obtained mandioca twigs, batatas, and carâ /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts. Just as the tribe of the Auetõ and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/, Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

2: Steinen- 472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B 175 648 /391 cont./ enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B [113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

BM 175 648 [113] M [131] BM [101] A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Manduruku," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

BA 173 648 The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

/392 cont./ The following is what I was
A 105 [101] gradually able to learn about them from the Bakaírí. The Kayabí call themselves Paruá; they are said to be -- but this requires confirmation -- relatives of the Kamayurá on the Kulisehu, according to their language, and would therefore be a Tupí tribe.
A [266] [241] They are strong people and, like the Tupí tribe of Apiaká living nearby, practitioners of anthropophagy. They plant mandioca, maize, batatas, mandubí, etc., just like the rest. They have
A [411] nicely worked clubs of bakayuva palm-wood with plaiting around them, which, about one and a half meters long, have the shape of flat staffs and are worn in a rope on the arm. In this respect, too, they would correspond with the Kamayurá. The arrows are of kambayuva reed, like those of the Yuruna, but smaller. They do not have throwing boards -- an important difference from the Kamayurá.

A [131] The Kayabí live on the Rio Verde, whose sources lie between the Rio Novo village and the Paranatinga village of the
B A [101] Bakaírí and which flows into the Paranatinga from the right, below the famous salto. They are therefore, of course, the very closest neighbors of the Bakaírí. The hostility has existed
B A 173 648 since ancient times. Only in the very beginning did they tolerate each other: it is said that the Kayabí appeared among the Bakaírí in order to live near them and settled along a brook in their vicinity; then the strife began. I recall the Kayabí of the Keri legend; there they already appear in heaven, cf. p. 448. The old Bakaírí are said to have traveled down the Paranatinga to below the Rio Verde and /393/ to have come back again out of fear of the Kayabí. The Kayabí possessed stone axes and that had given rise to conflicts.

B A 173 721 More specific information was reported to me about clashes in more recent times. The Kayabí killed the father of Felipe; they attacked at night and also took a child along. Antonio's grandfather, father, and uncle pushed forward as far as the mouth of the Rio Verde; the Kayabí were hunting there and looking for mussels. The Bakaírí arrived in the afternoon and cautiously held back, but early in the morning, when the Kayabí were still

/393 cont./

B A 173 721 A [302] B [729] lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two, while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with arimesca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil. They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí,* who unfortunately

* See Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 283 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 151/, and the body measurements in the table following p. 364 /omitted in 1:Steinen/. Erroneously written Cajibi there.

no longer knew a word of their mother tongue. Some 20 Bakaïrí had undertaken the raid at the mouth of the Rio Verde and captured the two small girls along with a sister of Luisa, who, however, bit everyone around her so furiously that she had to be killed.

B 173 167 Although, in addition to the version that dissension among the Bakaïrí themselves necessitated an exodus to the Schingú, I was also given another one, that a number of Bakaïrí fled there from the Kayabí, it is quite possible that both are justified and refer to different occasions.

S 131 167 [101] A shift in the same direction was reported to me for the Suyá, which necessarily surprised me no little. The Suyá, whom we found in 1884 on the upper course of the Schingú, are a true Gês tribe and linguistically are most closely related to the Apinagês /Apinaye/ of the province of Goyaz /Goiás/ between the Tocantins and Araguay /Araguaia/. They are likewise said to have lived on the Rio Verde west of the Paranatinga and to have come there from the nearby Arinos. They must therefore, since we may cling to their eastern origin, first have been driven across the Schingú and Paranatinga toward the west and then moved back. The Bakaïrí say that they joined the Kayapó /Cayapo/, who were excellent archers, and drove the Suyá out of the neighborhood along the Rio Verde. A great many Suyá

B [648] [173] S [648]

B 648 173 S 167 648

/393 cont./ A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingú. Hyacintho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo vilage, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

B 648 B [175]

In the south and southeast the West Bakaïrí evidently had friendly relations with the Gẽs tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Cuiabá, but the Bakaïrí, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáχo" = Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kulisehu Bakaïrí, as the latter informed me.

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Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakaïrí extends to the west; the Paressí are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Paressí, live the "Woimaré" and "Eneurá," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Paressí, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Paressí. The "Eneurá" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

B 173 167

This is all that I could learn from the West Bakaïrí about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakaïrí were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

/394 cont./

173 167 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emigrated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The 174 197 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisẹhu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and [177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 [123] [166] As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to [484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man. they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the 619 431 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

B 1974 /399 cont./ number of our Karaiben elements is too small to account for the one going from the center of the continent to the north, is removed.

B 1974 1997 As far as the relation of the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá to each other is concerned, it should be noted that the two tribes are linguistically no closer than the Guiana Karaiben are to one another. In fact, the Bakaïrí are closer to the Makuschí /Macusi/ or Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ than to the Nahuquá. The influence of the neighboring Nu-Aruak, the potter tribes of the Kulisehu, on the language of the Nahuquá is clearly pronounced, and this relation, as is the case today, has undoubtedly been closer and more cordial for a very long time than with the Bakaïrí. This circumstance is in perfect accord with the history and legend of the West Bakaïrí when they maintain that the original seat of their tribe lies between the Ronuro and the Paranatinga.

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B A 1974 A [101] [131] The latest acquisition for the Karaiben question, finally, and a very important one on account of the spatial adjustment which it permits, is the Apiaká /Apiaca/. Martius already speaks of "Apiaká" in the river basin of the Tokantins /Tocantins/; he mentions them beside the Karajá /Caraja/ and regards them as Tupí, as indeed the Indians of the upper Tapajoz living in a remote region and likewise called "Apiaká" actually are. In 1888, Ehrenreich, after he had traveled down the Araguay-Tokantins, met a few Apiaká in Praia Grande and /400/ identified them as Karaiben. He was surprised at their great physical resemblance to the Bakaïrí. The people said that they had been driven away by the Suyá. They had fled northward and are now living west of the last stretch of the lower Tokantins, probably in the upper region of the Uanapu and Pacayá, approximately on the third degree south latitude. Ehrenreich suspects that the migration took place only a few decades ago. It is obvious to link them up with the change of habitation which the Suyá themselves undertook when, in the first decades of this century (cf. page 474), they were driven from the Paranatinga region to the Schingú. Nor do we know anything more specific about whether the Apiaká lived to the west or east of the Schingú, but the important fact that

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A [173] [179] [131]

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12. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Coroado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

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14. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 69.

173 /16 cont. /undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer To
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paresí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paresí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paresí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
199 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paresí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

175 722 729 563 [179]

/17 cont./
the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women, captured in hostile encounters with the Paresí, we must attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

178 146 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

175 a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
175 619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
128 with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

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Rio Novo, also in that state. The Southern Lapes Indians claim that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeias by the Paranatinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal

2. For a better discussion of the possible origin of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-38, São Paulo, 1947.

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[illegible] part moved to the north of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Southern Lapes Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Service. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted the customs of the neighboring Brazilian population and live independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service. As for the Southern Lapes Indians, although they are quite acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeias, and make good informants.

As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall only mention the best. Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

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THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Servico de Protecção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosseno in 3 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Dunkum of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Servico de Protecção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga [headwaters of the Tapajos River], but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 80 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 30 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.